NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

VOL. III. OCTOBER, 1904. No. 4.

PLAYS WITHIN PLAYS.*

I.

Deep down are the beginnings of "the play within a play," the stage artifice of distinctively British origin, which Shakespeare employed in Loves Labors Lost, Hamlet, Midsummer's Night's Dream, and Taming of the Shrew (in the latter, making the inner the superior, play to which the encasing play was subordinated.) Were it not that traces of the device are to be found in the old Moralities, notably in Sir Thomas More, which dates from before 1589, one would be inclined to ascribe its invention to Thomas Kyd, of bombastic memory. But if not the originator of this curious stage effect, Kyd improved upon the idea in its crudity and practically exhausted all its resources. In the drama proper the earliest employment of it that can be traced occurs in his Spanish Tragedy, written about the year 1592. At first blush the student will be apt to imagine that in the compressed, intercalary tragedy of Solyman and Perseda he has stumbled upon the prototype of the famous play-scene in Hamlet, but he will be given pause by the reflection that prior to Shakespeare's handling of the Danish theme, a tragedy now lost to us called the Ur-Hamlet had gained some meed of popularity from about the year 1589. As the earlier play, with some show of reason, has been attributed to Kyd, the chances are that the Ur-Hamlet itself afforded the protype of Shakespeare's mimic tragedy.

In the Spanish Tragedy, Hieronimo is shown thirsting to revenge the murder of his son, an end achieved by the instrumentality of a play, which he causes to be acted before the king and the nobility of Spain. In the fourth act Hieronimo enters and "knocks up the curtain." He is joined by the Duke of Castile, who speaks about the play presently to be acted. Hieronimo hands him a copy of the tragedy for the use of the king, and adds:

> Let me entreat your Grace, that when
> The train are past into the gallery,
> You would vouchsafe to throw me down the key.

*By courtesy of the Dramatic Mirror Company of New York City. All Rights Reserved.

From this the inference would be that the mimic audience was stationed on the permanent balcony at the back of the stage; that useful fixture which in non-scenic days did duty for battlements, upper windows and indeed all elevated positions. Malone, in dealing with the staging of this particular play-scene, says, "A curtain, or traverse, being hung across the stage for the nonce, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on the curtain being drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the balcony and regardless of the spectators in the theatre." There can be little doubt that in the main this was the method employed in Elizabethan-Stuart days in most cases where a play within a play had to be performed. Occasionally there were slight deviations from routine, as in the early representations of Hamlet, but these were rare.

It is significant that the old play of The Taming of a Shrew (1594) should be attributed by some authorities to Kyd, as in it we have a quaint departure from the true type of play within play, and the earliest example of the kind. Here the proportions are reversed, the mimic comedy forming the piece de resistance, while the actualities assume a trivial and extrinsic air. This arrangement owes little to the author's ingenuity, whether Kyd or another, as it was simply due to a slavish following of the lines upon which the old story was built. The method is in its essence non-dramatic, and Shakespeare in re-discussing the old theme adopted a sensible plan in eliminating Christopher Sly at the end of the first act. The direction at the close of the induction in the earlier play, "Enter aloft the Drunkard, with attendants," shows that Sly and his retinue occupied the balcony throughout the whole of the mimic comedy. Nor is that all, for at the close the author, still sticking relentlessly to his brief, has the tinker carried back again to the ale-house, whence he was borne away.

Only once in modern times has Shakespeare's Taming of a Shrew been performed with close approximation to original methods. This was at the London Haymarket under Benjamin Webster, in 1846, and the occasion is noteworthy if only because it shows (what so many disbelieve) that it is possible to perform an Elizabethan play on a scenically adorned stage without robbing it of its peculiar aroma and distinctiveness. Planche, who was responsible for the revival, tells us in his "Recollections" that only two scenes were utilized, the exterior of the rural alehouse for the induction, and the nobleman's bedchamber for the remainder of the comedy. In the latter scene there was erected a bare platform on which the trials and tribulations of the termagant were enacted. Writes Planche: "Sly was seated in a great chair in the first entrance, O. P., to witness the performance of the comedy. At the end of each act no drop scene came down, but music was played while the servants brought the bewildered tinker wine and refreshments, which he partook of freely." During the fifth act Sly appeared to fall gradually into a heavy drunken stupor; and when the last line of the play was spoken, the actors made their usual bow, and the noble-

man, advancing and making a sign to his domestics, they lifted him out of his chair, and as they bore him to the door the curtain descended upon the picture. Not a word was uttered, and the termination, which Schlegel supposes to have been lost, was indicated by the simple movement of the dramatis personæ, without any attempt to continue the subject.

When Shakespeare's Hamlet came to be acted for the first time, in or about the year 1603, there can be little doubt that in the play-scene Ophelia and her lover placed themselves on the forepart of the stage, a little to one side, while the mimic players acted in the middle, facing toward the balcony at the back, where sat the King and Queen. Whatever the precise arrangement of the scene, the text plainly indicates that Hamlet and Ophelia must have been stationed apart from Claudius and Gertrude. At the climax of the scene Ophelia ejaculates "The King rises," a remark plainly showing that she was in a position where she could observe his movements. Moreover, Hamlet could not have been on the balcony, else he would have been hidden from view when he lay down at Ophelia's feet. All we know for certain regarding the disposition of the actors in this scene in non-scenic times is that the King and Queen were seated somewhere at the back, and that the mimic players faced in their direction. The original method of presenting Hamlet crystalized into a tradition, which, strange as it may appear, was scrupulously followed up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Partial proof of this is afforded us in the statement of old Downes, the prompter, made in his "Roscius Anglicanus," in 1708. "In the tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark," he writes, "Mr. Betterton performed the part of young Hamlet. Sir William Davenant having seen Mr. Taylor, of the Black-Friar's Playhouse, act this part (who was instructed by the author, Shakespear), remembered him so well that he taught Mr. Betterton in every article; which by his exact performance gained the actor esteem and reputation, superlative to all other players." So late as the middle of the eighteenth century the play-scene was still performed with the King and Queen at the extreme back, but by that time the mimic players had made absurd departure from routine and were to be seen actually facing the real audience! Says a writer in "The Theatrical Review" for May, 1765: "I was the other night at Drury Lane Theatre to see the tragedy of Hamlet acted, for the benefit of Mr. Palmer, when a very great absurdity struck me, which has hitherto escaped the public notice. In the play, which is introduced by Hamlet, in order to discover his father's guilt, it has been usual for the actors of it to perform with their backs to the King and Queen, for whose entertainment it is supposed to be represented. Can anything be more unnatural? Can custom warrant the continuance of a practice so ridiculously absurd? I would ask, if the players of either house were commanded to act a play before their Majesties at St. James' would they perform it with their faces turned from the whole court? The question is a fair one, and I believe I may venture to answer it in the negative. The

only excuse that can be brought is that it is a mere fiction—the King and Queen only nominally such—and the whole of it calculated for the entertainment of the real audience in the front of the house. It must naturally be more pleasing to them to see the mock play represented in the manner it now is. To this I must beg leave to dissent. The nearer any dramatic exhibition can be brought to the appearance of reality, in a proportionable degree will it seize and affect the breast of every auditor. Who sees the mock tragedy, as it is now done, and considers the actors as performing for the entertainment of the personages behind them? On the contrary, if it were otherwise represented, what attentive spectator but would believe, for the time, the whole a reality?"

One is not in a position to determine whether the onslaught of this intelligent, if verbose, critic effected its purpose, but the passage is important as it shows that the method of placing the mimic players in an alcove at the back is comparatively a recent innovation. Almost twenty years before this, Gravelot, in illustrating the Oxford edition of Shakespeare (1744), had foreshadowed the latter-day arrangement of the play-scene, but the actors of the period were seemingly too much tradition-ridden to accept of the suggestion. In keeping with the fact that Gravelot was a Frenchman is the circumstance that France was eventually to furnish another ingenious solution of the puzzle set by Shakespeare in the play-scene. It will be readily remembered that when Sarah Bernhardt first brought her impersonation of Hamlet under notice, the mimic stage, with its rude tapestry and primitive "set-pieces," was placed on one side of the stage, facing the dais of the King and Queen on the other. This arrangement certainly made for picturesqueness, while it in nowise derogated from the proper cumulative effect of the scene. It is strange that it should have been left to a French actress to prove the utility of his disposition, seeing that the idea of play within play was so long repugnant to the French instinct that all early adapters of Hamlet ruthlessly eliminated the play-scene!

II.

For a couple of decades after the passing of Shakespeare the play within a play enjoyed such vogue that dramatists were at their wits' end to give the air of novelty to the expedient. By the way, as Brome in referring to the mimic comedy introduced into his Antipodes (1638) distinguishes it by the name of "by-play," it may be that in the phrase we have the technical term used in connection with the device in early days. At any rate, we may join hands with Malone in thanking him for that word.

Of the numerous brood of pieces presenting plays within plays which followed hard on Hamlet, the palm for ingenuity must be awarded to Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle (1611). There the two themes are so cunningly interwoven that each is part of the weft and warp of the whole. So well oiled was the mechanism of construction, so apparently unmotived the beginning of the play, with its accidental air and large

measure of surprise, that one can forgive the first audience that sat in judgment upon it for being puzzled by its complexities and half inclined to condemn a piece of drollery that subsequently provided mirth for many gatherings. In the Knight of the Burning Pestle we find the audience presumably assembled to see The London Merchant. The Prologue is about to deliver himself of his burden when he is rudely interrupted by a citizen who comes on the scene and demands a plebeian play with a grocer for protagonist. Seated in the pit are the citizen's wife and their man Ralph, both of whom back up the request and finally make their way to the stage. A burlesque is then gone through with Ralph as the enactor of mighty deeds, the whole being punctuated by the shrewd comments of the housewife, who pronounces a benediction in speaking the epilogue. In Fletcher and Rowley's comedy of The Maid in the Mill (1623), the "by-play"—to adopt Brome's phrase—is neatly dovetailed and leads up naturally to a funny situation, that in which Count Otranto comes on, and after delivering an impromptu speech, completely mystifies the actor of Cupid by carrying off Florimel. A variant of this particular effect will be found in Dryden's comedy of The Rival Ladies (1664).

Obviously the play with the theatrical theme lends itself most readily to the employment of the "by-play." The first of the kind in England was Massinger's Roman Actor (1626), which presents no fewer than three mimic interludes. In the first (Act II) a portion of a comedy called The Cure of Avarice is performed by Paris before Cæsar and Domitia, to cure Philargus of covetousness. The home thrusts are many, so many, indeed, that poor Philargus keeps interrupting the performance with protestation. The second (Act III) is a compressed tragedy, in which the superb acting of Paris causes Domitia, as interested spectator, to lose her self-control. The third (Act IV) reproduces the coup de theatre which rendered so stirring the "by-play" in the Spanish Tragedy. Cæsar having discovered the guilty love between Paris and Domitia, compels the histrion to play a scene from a tragedy called The False Servant. The performance being in private and without spectators (!), Cæsar himself deposes Aesopus in the part of the injured lord. Lack of acquaintance with the play makes him shaky in his lines, but he knows that at a certain puncture he has to stab the false servant—and does so in reality with his own unblunted weapon.

By way of lending variety to the device, the "by-play" was sometimes given the form of an interpolated masque, as in The Revenger's Tragedy (1607) of Tourneur, and the Lover's Melancholy of Ford. One notes in nearly all these early interludes the following of a convention established by Kyd in The Spanish Tragedy. The King, Duke or other head of the mimic audience, was generally provided with a written argument of the play or masque to be performed; and capital is sometimes made out of the practice, where a sudden and dramatic deviation takes place from the inscribed plot of the piece. Antithetical effect was aimed at in the rapid turning of mirth and laughter into groans and tears. A good instance of this is af-

forded in the fifth act of Middleton's tragedy of Woman Beware Woman, which dates from about the year 1626. To further his deadly purpose a masque is devised by the scheming Guardiano, and the Duke and his retinue seat themselves on the balcony to view the prformance. The wholesale slaughter that follows recalls the litter of corpses in the last act of Hamlet. Isabelle and Livia are poisoned by the fumes of a censer, Guardiano breaks his neck in falling through a trap-door prepared for another, and Hippolito is mortally wounded by the envenomed arrow of the mock Cupid.

It will be readily understood that scenery had not long been introduced into the English theatre before the new conditions were warring with the old. Tradition fought its corner so well that, as we have already seen, the non-scenic method of staging the play-scene in Hamlet obtained till the middle of the eighteenth century. Still some progress toward illusion was made, for in many of the new pieces containing by-plays brought out during the Restoration, more sensible methods of mounting were pursued. The great vogue of plays of this class at this particular period is accounted for by the fact that authors were so far desirous of making the most of the new scenic auxiliary that it grew quite the ton to intercalate playlets and masques, without rhyme or reason. Thus Davenant's Playhouse to Be Let, as seen at the Duke's Theatre in 1663, was merely a maladroit device for the exploitation of two primitive operas and a farce, the former of which had previously been performed as substantive pieces. Four years later there was presented at the Theatre Royal an elaborate scenic masque in the play of the Black Prince. This was performed at the back of the stage, what time the mimic audience obliged the real one by sitting on the sides so as not to obstruct the view. In 1672 Elkanah Settle favored patrons of the Duke's house with the sight of a deftly incorporated masque in his sensational nightmare called the Empress of Morocco. This was so arranged as to carry on the action proper, and it culminated in a coup de theatre similar to that in Women Beware Women. The inconsistency was, however, that it had more the air of an extrinsic ballet than of a genuine "by-play." There was no mimic audience, as all the dramatic personæ were engaged in personating characters in The Mask of Hell.

Now that scenery had come to stay, it was not so much a question of a play within a play as of a theatre within a theatre. The first attempt to solve the new problem was made by Shadwell in a comedy called The True Widow, produced at Dorset Gardens in 1678. In this there was a curious sequence of scenes showing the arrival of the mock audience, the beginning of the mimic play, its interruption by some rowdies who are ejected, and finally some frolicking behind the scenes. One of the cleverest effects of this class was seen in Pigmy Revels, a pantomime produced at Drury Lane in January, 1773, in which consecutive scenes depicted the exterior and interior of old Drury itself. About the latest and most ingenious device of the sort was the music hall scene in Hearts Are Trumps, as produced at

another Drury Lane in 1899. By a clever arrangement of masks and mirrors, a comparatively small body of supers were made to do duty satisfactorily in Cecil Rhodes' play for quite an imposing audience.

In France revolution lives in the blood of the people, but no change in the mental attitude of the Gaul gives more cause for surprise than the right-about-face from utter aversion to the play-scene in Hamlet to placid acceptance of the manifold absurdities of the elder Dumas' "Kean, ou Genie et Desordre" (1836). Viewed either as an epitome of the great tragedian's career, or as a reflex of English life and manners, the play was preposterous and fell easy prey to the satirical powers of Thackeray. The climax of absurdity was reached when Kean was shown on the stage maddened by the sight of his lady-love closeted in a box with the Prince of Wales, and so incapable of self-control as to openly insult the heir apparent. Ridiculous, however, as was this farrago, it had considerable influence on the trend of the modern "by-play." Two versions of it have been seen, The Royal Box, written and produced in America by the late Charles Coghlan, and a much freer adaptation, the Edmund Kean of T. Edgar Pemberton, performed in the English provinces by the Compton company. The right and the wrong method of staging a by-play is strikingly illustrated by these two pieces. Charles Coghlan committed a grievous sin against the optique du theatre, which Mr. Pemberton has skillfully avoided. In the fourth act of The Royal Box, Kean, while acting in Romeo and Juliet, is driven to desperation through seeing the Prince of Wales and the Countess Helen together in front. Mr. Coghlan erred against the canons of good taste in placing the two in one of the actual stage boxes of the theatre. A similar scene occurred in the Pemberton version, but here the proper course was followed in building up stage boxes on each side of the scene, thus avoiding an improper use of the auditorium.

Not all modern "by-plays," however, have been inspired by Kean. In 1878 Lawrence Barrett produced at the Park Theatre, New York, a drama from the Spanish of Joaquin Estabanez by W. D. Howells, called Yorick's Love, in the second act of which occurred a mimic tragedy having for scene the Globe Theatre of Shakespeare's day, and presenting in its climax a sombre surprise similar to that in the third interlude in Massinger's Roman Actor. It only remains to note that this particular phase of the play within play has been strikingly operatized in Leoncavalio's Pagliacci.

One may fittingly conclude this cursory review of the rise and progress of the "by-play" by alluding to a curious piece called The Player, written by Blanche Marsden and produced by Lawrence Hanley at the Star Theatre, New York, in August, 1893. Albeit that such a recent theatrical Triton as Gustavus Brooke was the protagonist, the usual course in connection with plays dealing with stage themes was followed and the story manufactured out of whole cloth. The prologue consisted of certain scenes from Hamlet, played to a stage audience, economically but unillusively represented by painted canvas.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

BACON IN FRANCE—THE ALLEGED LA REINE MARGUERITE EPISODE.

It may seem to be giving too much importance to a matter in which the Readers of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA may have already lost interest, to say anything more about Bacon's journey to France with Sir Amyas Paulet, but I hope they will have patience to read a few more pages, (the last I shall say on the subject), which I have written by way of rejoinder to Dr. Platt's kindly criticism on my paper on the Mallock title pages, which appeared in NEW SHAKESPEAREANA in January, 1903, (Vol. II. page 127).

It seems to me in the first place that Dr. Platt has fallen into a slight confusion as to dates which ought to be set straight. Sir Amyas went to France in June 1576, as shown by his letter to Mr. Nicholas Wadham from Tours, June 22nd 1577, where he speaks of having been absent from England for a year. The same letter shows that the period of his stay in France was originally intended to be two years. Now, as Francis Bacon was born in January 1561, he was but a few months over fifteen when he went abroad with Sir Amyas, and while Dr. Platt's expression, that the idea of a tutor accompanying a young man of nineteen is impossible, is, I think, somewhat too strong, I think even he will agree with me that the fact of a tutor being provided for a boy of a little over fifteen, is quite natural, particularly when the lad's health needed care. I do not know the ground for Dr. Platt's statement that Bacon was an attache of the embassy; I would infer—from what I have been able to find on the subject—that he had no official connection with it, and was with the Ambassador only as the son of Sir Amyas' friend the Lord Keeper. His name is not mentioned in the account and list of the persons to whom money had been disbursed, attached to Sir Amyas' official letter to the Lord Keeper of August and September 1577.

A personal letter to the Lord Keeper of a little later date, Sept. 24th, contains a good deal about his son. He writes, "I must tell you that I rejoice much that your son, my companion, hath, by the grace of God, passed the brunt and peril of this journey; Whereof I am the more glad, because, in the beginning of these last troubles it pleased your lordship to refer his continuance with me to my consideration. I thank God these dangers are past, and your son safe, sound, and in good health, and worthy of your fatherly favor."

This letter, which seems to indicate that Bacon had no official connection with the embassy, was written shortly after the conclusion of a peace between the King of France (Henri III), and the chiefs of the Protestant Party. It has no local date, but, as his previous letter written early in September was from Poictiers, and as a few weeks later Sir Amyas writes from Paris, I fancy this letter was from Paris also, and that the journey spoken of must have been from Poictiers to Paris. Poitou was at that time one of the Hugenot strongholds, and it is likely that Sir Amyas' journey there

may have been to meet and confer with the Protestant chiefs, so that it can readily be seen the journey was not only a fatiguing one, but exposed to the perils of partizan war. There had been evidently previous correspondence as to the desirability and safety of young Francis continuing in France, but now, peace having been restored, and there being no further need of perilous journeys, Sir Amyas felt there was no occasion for Francis' return. I should also infer that in view of this favorable report, the Lord Keeper concluded that the care of Mr. Duncombe was no longer required, for we find that Sir Amyas' next letter, dated October 30th, 1577 was carried home by Mr. Duncombe himself, of whom the Ambassador writes, "I may not omit to commend to your Lordship the honest, diligent, discreet and faithful service of the bearer, which deserveth my good acceptation; thinking him worthy of the government of your Lordship's son or of any gentleman's in England of what degree soever. I cannot tell if your Lordship be more indebted to him for his carefulness in your service than I am for his good and quiet behaviour in my house." Thus it would seem that the Lord Keeper and Dr. Platt were not so far apart as it might at first appear, in their views as to the period of his life in which Francis Bacon required a Tutor, for Mr. Duncombe's employment seems to have covered the period from June 1576, when Francis was fifteen years and five months old, to October 1577, when he was sixteen years and nine months old; while for the period of about another year, that is, during the rest of his stay in France, until he was between seventeen and eighteen, the kind counsels of Sir Amyas' were doubtless considered sufficient for his guidance. It must have been during this second period of his stay, if at all, that Francis Bacon was sent to London on a secret important errand as some assert. I will agree with Dr. Platt that there is nothing improbable in Francis Bacon writing a volume of Essays at nineteen, which might have been published in 1580, but Dr. Platt must have written hastily in suggesting that Montaigne's essays were the kind of essays Bacon would be likely to write. The only similarity I can see between Montaigne's and Bacon's essays is that both writers were accomplished Latinists and classical scholars, and used the learning of the ancients with ease and familiarity. In every other respect they seem to me as wide apart as the poles. Montaigne writes as one familiar with camp as well as court, a soldier as well as a scholar. Bacon shows little interest in things military; He is as absolutely a civilian as Montaigne a cavalier. Bacon is as familiar with English as with Roman history and is ready to refer to it in illustration, Montaigne rarely refers to English history or character, and his non-classical illustrations are taken from French or modern Italian history, with neither of which Bacon ever showed special familiarity. The only English reference by Montaigne which I remember is to an incident as to Edward III, which occurred in France, and which is related by Froissart, whom Montaigne cites as authority. Montaigne's essays are replete with personal allusions and descriptions, thoroughly French in their character, and are

deeply impressed with the personal experience of the author. Bacon's essays are singularly impersonal and rarely bear an individual imprint, and when they do, it is Bacon's thought and reflections they embody, and not his personal doings and sufferings. From this difference it would be more natural to infer that Montaigne wrote Bacon's essays, disguising his personality. To suppose that a young Englishman would have written discourses upon the character of Montaigne's father as well as upon his own, and revealed himself as thoroughly imbued with the Gallic spirit which is quite alien to Bacon's mode of thought, seems to me impossible.

As we are on the subject of Bacon's visit to France which occupied part of his sixteenth, all of his seventeenth and part of his eighteenth year, it may not be inappropriate to say something about the extraordinary love story which Mrs. Gallup claims to have discovered, through her cipher studies, and which Mr. Mallock and Dr. Platt deem of such singular beauty and think bears the marks of "genuine and acute sincerity." I cannot claim the thorough knowledge of Bacon's writings possessed by these authors, but I hope I may be pardoned if I venture to state some reasons why this story seems to me to bear, as well in its frame and expression as in the substance of its narrative, evident marks of modern production by an imperfectly educated person. This is the passage:

"Th' fame of th' gay French Court had come to me even thus, and it "was flattering to the youthful love o' th' affaires taking us from my na- "tive land, insomuch as th' secret commission had been entrusted to me "which required most true wisdome for safer, speedier conduct then "'twould have if left to th' common course of business. Soe with mine in- "teressed, though sometimes apprehensive minde, I made myself ready to "accompany Sir Amyas to that sunny land of the South I learned so su- "premely to love, that afterwards I would have left England and every "hope of advancement, to remain my whole life there. Nor yet could this "be due to the delight of the country by itselfe; for love o' sweete Mar- "guerite, th' beautiful young sister of th' king (married to Henry th' gal- "lant King of Navarre) did make it Eden to my innocent heart; and even "when I learned her perfidie, love did keep her like the angels in my "thoughts half o' th' time-as to th' other half she was devilish, and I my- "selfe was plung'd into hell. This lasted during many years, and, not un- "til four decades or eight lustres o' my life were outliv'd, did I take any "other to my sore heart. Then I married the woman who hath put Mar- "guerite from my memory—rather I should say hath banished her por- "trait to the walls of memorie only, where it doth hang in th' pure un- "dimmed beauty of those early days."

That Francis Bacon, then a sickly lad just past fifteen, sent abroad with his tutor in the company of the Ambassador Sir Amyas Paulet, should have been personally entrusted with a secret mission to the French Court is in the highest degree improbable, apart from his youth unfitting him for such a duty. To have sent such a secret mission by a youth attached to

his suite would have been a wrong and an insult to the Lord Keeper's close personal friend Sir Amyas who was taking his son abroad with him from motives of kindness and affection; and to have undertaken such a secret mission would have been on Bacon's part an act of disloyalty to his chief and his father's friend. "La Reine Margot" was no longer in 1576, a very young girl or a recent bride. She had been married to Henri of Navarre eight years before, and had somewhat later saved his life and those of other Huguenots on the night of St. Bartholomew. She was at this time in the height of the triumph of her wit and beauty and at least ten years older than Francis Bacon. The passage above quoted however, would certainly show from its mention of her as the young sister of the King of France, that Bacon, if he were the writer of the passage, viewed her as of his own age if not even younger, while the placing the statement of her marriage to the King of Navarre in parentheses, seems to indicate that the writer probably supposed that this marriage was subsequent to the commencement of Francis Bacon's love affair, which else might not have been quite so innocent as the writer makes it. At the time of Bacon's arrival in Paris, Marguerite's heart was full of her passion for LeBeau Bussy which had such a disastrous ending. Yet it must have been at this time, if at all, that Bacon ever met her; for shortly after the treacherous assault on Bussy, Marguerite succeeded in getting away from Paris under pretense of a course of treatment at some mineral baths across the Flemish frontier; and during the greater part of Bacon's stay in France she was either in Flanders where occurred her memorable affair with Don John of Austria, or with her favorite brother the Duke d'Alencon, at his Castle on the French side of the Frontier. When she was at last compelled to return to Paris her stay was very short, and she adroitly contrived to get away from Court and rejoin her husband from whom her brother the King had been striving to divide her, in the south of France. La Reine Margot was doubtless during the period of Francis Bacon's stay in France a past mistress in the arts of the Court, she is said to have even exceeded her mother in tact and charm. She had learned to know life and the world in a hard and cruel school, and her views of love and gallantry were far different from those of the Puritan household in which Francis Bacon had been brought up, and of his widowed mother to whom his course of life was in the last decade of the century to give such anxiety. Marguerite's life during this central period of her success was gay and brilliant with love and adventure, but she was never taxed with perfidy. The gay and amorous life of the King of Navarre, who often made Marguerite a confidante of his love affairs when they went ill, was not calculated to produce faithfulness on her part to her marriage vows, and with her light, affectionate and tender hearted nature she plucked the flowers of joy and gaiety as she strolled through life's meadows, but she was never, like her mother, hard, cruel or revengeful. Politically she was always true and devoted to the King of Navarre's interests and party—from the saving of his life on the night of St. Bartholomew until he so fool-

ishly sent her into seclusion, and gave her a successor in Marie de Medicis. Bacon, writing long after Marguerite's death and even after Henri himself had fallen beneath the assassin's knife, with his wide tolerance of judgment and thorough knowledge of contemporary history, could never have called poor Marguerite perfidious. He certainly must have known and recognized that, though she was sadly and weakly human, there was never aught in La Reine Margot which could be called "devilish." Such a series of blunders as to history and character could not have been made by Bacon, but (pace Mr. Mallock) were not un-natural to have been made by a modern author writing from the light of inner consciousness slightly enhanced by a careless reading of historical romances!

The most conclusive evidence to my mind, however, that the letters used in this passage have been forced into juxtaposition to maintain a theory, lies in the manner of the elision of the letter "e" in the definite article. This elision of "e" in "the" was very common in Elizabethan days particularly in poetry, but was, if I mistake not, confined to cases where either the following word begins with a vowel, or perhaps very rarely with a liquid, or alternatively when the preceding word ends with a vowel; so that the words could be run together in reading or speaking, without the pause necessary to emphasize the sound of the two distinct vowels. The elision was made for euphony, and many lines of contemporaneous poetry require this elision for metrical reading even when not indicated in type. In Macbeth IV 1. 179 we have instances of both these forms of elision, "give to th' edge o' th' sword." The "e" of the first "the" is elided before a vowel, and the "e" of the second before a consonant, but to make the line readable the consonant preceding "f" in "of" is also elided, so that "th" can be read as one syllable with "o." So, in the same play, we have a similar double elision in, "The fits o' th'season" IV. ii.22. "Share i' th' gaines" (IV. i. 43); "i' th'olden time" (III. iv. 95.) The elisions are evidently made for the ear, and we find several similar elisions in this passage; such as the "e" in "the" before "affaires" in the second line and before "other" in the fourteenth line, so the elision of "e" before "woman" in the seventeenth line is excusable, as the "w" in woman may have been silent. This elision of the "e" before an initial vowel is, however, not uniform in the passage, since it is not elided before "angels" in the thirteenth line. On the other hand we find the "e" elided without reason or excuse before "fame" and "gay" in the first line, before "secret" in the third line, before "beautiful," "king" and "gallant," in the eleventh. The elision before "common," in the fifth line, would be justifiable in the usage of Bacon's day, because the preceding word "to" ends with a vowel, so that it could be read with the "th" as one syllable; and, in the fourteenth line, the "f" of the preceding "of" is elided, so that we can read "o'th'time." The other elisions above referred to, however, render reading aloud or proper enunciation of the words virtually impossible. How can we read "as th' secret" "Marguerite th' beautiful" (the "e" in Marguerite being as it is

silent)? But, still worse; in two cases we have the word "of" before the article whose "e" is elided, and yet the "f" is retained, contrary to the usage when a consonant follows and producing, if not impossibility of pronunciation at least grievous cacophony, when all could be made right either by the retention of the "e," or the additional elision of the "f's"? How can "of th' gay," or "of th' king," or "in th' pure," (line 19) bepronounced, without a pause just where the "e" is elided? If the passage had been written by any writer, can we conceive of an author so deficient in ear, as to elide these "e"s, without also eliding the preceding "f"s and "n" also, so as to make it capable of enunciation? On the contrary, does not everything point to the passage being made up from a forced collocation of letters to support a theory?

Sidney Walker discovered the rule that sibilants, when immediately preceding other sibilants, were—by Elizabethan writers—elided both in speech and spelling; and Professor Allen in his valuable note (p. 429 Appendix) to Romeo and Juliet in Dr. Furness' New Variorum, made the important suggestion that the rule should be extended for the sake of euphony to dentals and gutterals. With regard to Dentals he developes a strong and convincing case for the frequent elision, not only of the dental itself in such cases, but of the whole definite article when coming between dentals, Thus, in Richard the Second. III. iv. 57,

"As we this garden. We at' time of year
"Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit trees,"

the article is evidently alided before "time," for the sake of euphony to avoid the disagreeable succession of dental sounds. But, in this extraordinary passage, Lord Verulam—instead of eliding a dental, or even the whole definite article "the"—is made to elide the one little vowel "e" which would alone render the pronunciation possible.

For these reasons I cannot believe this passage which Mr. Mallock says (and Dr. Platt, page 105. Vol. II NEW SHAKESPEAREANA agrees) seems to him "full of pathetic and dignified beauty, and strongly bears the mark of genuine and accute sincerity," and which Dr. Platt does not believe that "a Nineteenth Century Michigan lady had either the secret information or the poetic faculty to compose—was written by Francis Bacon!

R. I. ASHHURST.

DEPARTMENT OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Conducted by EDWARD MERTON DEY, ESQ.

[Contributions to this Department need not be typewritten. Correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Dey, P. O. Box 1063, St. Louis, Missouri.]

King Lear II, ii. 20. (Vol. III. page 99.)

I cannot agree with Mr. Rust that any change is necessary in the epithet, "One-trunk-inheriting slave," applied to Goneril's Steward by Kent. "Inherit" is not always used by Shakespeare in its technical legal sense of the succession to real estate by reason of the death of an ancestor, but is frequently used with the more general meaning, of the possession of property of any kind, and however acquired. Thus in the same play King Lear says, speaking of his daughters, IV, vi,

"But to the girdle do the gods inherit, beneath is all the fiends." Of course the gods could not inherit in the sense of deriving title by descent to the upper parts of the Daughters' bodies; what it means was that the gods' possession and control of their bodies ended at the girdle, the rest belonging to the fiends. Giving the word the same sense here, it will mean that the Steward's possessions were such as could be all placed in one trunk, which is quite consistent with Kent's previous contemptuous designation of Oswald as an eater of broken meats, a base proud shallow beggarly three-suited, hundred-pound, filthy, worsted stocking knave, a lily-livered, action taking glass gazing, superserviceable finical rogue." He does not revile him for a barefoot peasant, with but a single suit of ragged garments, but as one who having got enough forward in the world to have a capital of one hundred pounds and three suits of clothes and a trunk to keep them in, pretended to be a gentleman, but was lily-livered, and would bring an action if aggrieved, instead of protecting his honor by his sword. The word slave, is used I think merely as a term of opprobrium and contempt without specific application. Slavery did not exist in England in Shakespeare's day, and had been extinct for many centuries, certainly since soon after the Saxon Conquest. The serf or villian in Shakespeare's time could inherit his plot of land, by Copy of Court roll, according to the custom of

the manor as well as the Lord by Knight Service or the farmer or yoeman by free and common socage.

It is quite true that this speech is out of Kent's usual manner of speech, and might fairly be criticised as rough and ill-bred; but it must be remembered that Kent speaks it under his disguise of Lear's new servant Caius, and it it not inconsistent with the character he had assumed. Kent knew the Steward at once and perfectly, for it had been but the day before, or at most two days, when he had tripped him up for insolence to the King, and he tells him so. The Steward possibly did not recognize Kent, for he had given perhaps slight attention to one whom he regarded as his inferior, and the scene is laid just at dawn when the light was still gray and dim. Kent understood perfectly also Oswald's character and business, and justly however rudely, depicted it. His object was by intolerable insult to fasten a quarrel on Oswald and kill him before he delivered his letters which he knew boded ill for his Master. And he would have succeeded, but for the Steward's contemptible cowardice, which saved him from aught worse than a beating at Kent's hands.

I would venture also to differ from Mr. Rust as to the passage being UnShakespearean. It seems to me a fine specimen of contemptuous invective, coarse, but not inappropriately so. Kent's subsequent vigorous speeches are quite in the same vein. If other parallel uses of language are sought, they can be found passim in Timon, and in Thersites' violent diatribes in Troilus and Cressida.

R. L. Ashhurst.

Philadelphia, Aug. 29, 1904.

'Lear,' II. ii. 20—

In Referring to Mr. W. L. Rust's discussion of the "one trunk inheriting slave," (page 99 above). No one seems to hit the real meaning. No, an Englishman never speaks of inheriting anything but land, which goes to the heir, and not to the executor. Hence, a trunk is not a box or garment. But the slave does inherit his own worthless carcass or "trunk," and nothing else; and Kent meant, "You slave, inheriting nothing but your one worthless carcass," etc. Why the commentators doubt as to this seems strange.

R. W. P.

'Macbeth,' I. iv. 18-20,—

> Would thou hadst less deserved,
> That the proportion both of thanks and payment
> Might have been mine!

That a strict interpretation of "proportion" does not fit in with "mine" was recognized by Collier (Ed. ii. and MS), who read "more" instead of "mine," and by Staunton, who conjectured "mean."

What Duncan wishes is that, instead of his being in Macbeth's debt, he could make his royal bounty of praise and payment exceed the service rendered, not, as usually explained, that his return of thanks and payment

might be in due proportion with the service. The use of "mine" indicates the king's desire to have something that does not belong also to Macbeth; a properly balanced proportion nullifies the idea expressed in "mine."

I believe that E. K. Chambers (Arden Edition, D. C. Heath, Boston) is right in explaining: "Might have been mine, i.e. that the recompense I give thee might have been more instead of less than thy deserts."

E. M. D.

'Macbeth,' II. iii. 79-85.—

Ring the alarum-bell. Murder and treason. (79)
.....
.....Ring the bell. (85)

The propriety of omitting "Ring the bell," as a stage direction, has been acknowledged by various editors and opposed by others, the arguments pro and con appearing at length in Furness's Variorum edition. If one will but imagine the situation I think it must be clear that "Ring the Bell" is, as Theobald suggested, "a marginal direction in the prompter's book for him to order the bell to be rung the minute that Macduff ceased speaking," this regardless of the fact that "the hemistich ending Macduff's speech and that beginning Lady Macbeth's make up a complete verse." We may suppose that the place at which the alarum-bell can be rung is somewhat removed from where Macduff is speaking. He gives the order, "Ring the alarum-bell" (Line 79) and the porter departs to execute the command. A necessary delay of a few moments occurs before the bell rings. Those who retain "Ring the bell" (Line 85) would have us believe that Macduff's first order is ignored, since, on his supposed second order the bell is instantly rung. The fact is, the order, "Ring the alarum-bell," is obeyed at once (from the spectator's view-point) by the instant departure of the one who is to do the ringing, allowing a reasonable time for him to reach the bell. The stage mechanism, of course, appointed a certain place in the scene where the bell was to be rung, namely, at the close of Macduff's speech, and here we have the direction, "Ring the bell." As stated, however, if we seek for other proof than that of the natural order of things as represented on the stage, we can find it in the absurdity of holding that the conditions permitted instant compliance with the supposed second order, although there was evidently a necessary delay in obeying the first imperative order. Had it been possible to obey Macduff's first order at once, there would have been instant compliance; and, not being possible in the first case, it could not be so in the second. Hence, the supposed second order, followed by the immediate ringing of the bell, is spurious. Macduff would not reapeat the order to the absent porter who had departed to execute his commands.

E. M. D.

'Macbeth,' II. iv. 29—

Ross. Then 'tis most like
The sovereignty will fall upon Macbeth.

Macd. He is already named, and gone to Scone
To be invested.

. . . . . .

Ross. Will you to Scone?
Macd. No, cousin, I'll to Fife.
Ross. Well, I will thither.
Macd. Well, may you see things well done there: adieu!
Lest our old robes sit easier than our new!

Manly remarks: "Macduff's refusal to go to Scone, which, although it seems of no great significance at the moment, nevertheless causes his later peremptory refusal to attend Macbeth to come upon us not with the shock of complete surprise, but as a thing that might have been expected. Those of us who know the play well are apt to read every event in the light of the whole play, but obviously the events of a play have at the moment of their occurrence only the significance which they display upon first seeing them presented; later a new significance appears as we see their results. This sounds like a truism, too much closet study of Shakespeare has caused some of us to forget it."

On the first reading or hearing of a Shakespearean play the deferred knowledge of the full significance of a particular event yields some charm of novelty. Expectancy is gratified when the problem is worked out, and the mental process is that of fitting previous events of the play to the present scene. Where one is familiar with the play, expectancy is practically absent, being replaced by anticipation, and the mental process is that of fitting future events of the play to the present scene. The foregoing conditions, however, will vary greatly in degree according to the mentality of the reader. It is rarely given to an adult thinking person who uses English as he vernacular, to read one of the greater Shakespearean plays for the first time. Were he to do so, however, with an appreciation of the poet's method, I believe he would be able to foresee the design in any particular event as clearly as the chess player maps out his campaign from a given move. Emerson truly said that everything in Shakespeare is significant. We can read Macduff's disaffection in his remaining away from the ceremony at Scone as plainly as though his later acts were told us in the same breath—it comes upon us, not as a thing that might have been expected, but as a thing expected. Much of our modern system of annotation leaves little thinking of this kind for a student to do, and unless he is so fortunate as to have only the bare text before him on the first reading, the intellectual pleasure of reasoning to conclusions and finding out something for himself is denied him, as he will find from an illuminating footnote that such and such results naturally flow from the present act; when Duncan's son is informed in Macbeth's presence that the king has been murdered, the student's appreciation of the scene is sharpened by the suggestion in a recent edition that Malcolm's question, "O, by whom?" must have been a great shock to Macbeth. Prof. Manly's observation is doubly true where

such a method of teaching prevails. Criticism which aims to leave no meaning unnoticed, has its value, of course, in the final summing up after the student has done his best to arrive at an independent comprehension of the text. E. M. D.

'Othello,' IV. ii. 107.—

Des. 'Tis meet I should be us'd so, very meet.
How have I been behav'd, that he might stick
The small'st opinion on my least misuse?

Hart (Bobbs-Merrill edition) explains (adopting the reading, "least misuse"): "place the slightest censure on my smallest misconduct."

The summary in the 'New Variorum' is as follows: Singer,—" 'On' must be understood to signify 'of.' The sense appears to be: 'How have I behaved that he can attach the smallest notion of the least misconduct?' " Hudson,—(Adopting Quarto 1,—greatest abuse): "A very harsh and awkward expression, but meaning, 'What have I been doing, that upon my worst act he should fasten the slightest imputation of crime?' We cannot take 'on' here as equivalent to 'of,' for the connection is 'stick on' and not 'opinion on': so that 'least' of First Folio does not give the right sense." (Furness's note is as follows) "How have I been behaved that he could find the smallest possible fault with my smallest possible misdeed? a paraphrase which is substantially the same as Cowden-Clark's."

Supposing the last two lines are uttered by Desdemona as a protest, let us consider the force and connexion of certain disputed terms. Under the protest theory "How have I been behaved" is equivalent to "How has been my general deportment?" "Opinion" is held, at the same time, to mean 'censure,' and "misuse" to mean 'misconduct.' In the primary, unmodified form the statement would be, "How has been my general deportment, that he might stick censure on my misconduct?" A stronger form would be, "censure on my greatest misconduct," and the strongest form, "the smallest censure on my greatest misconduct." But, in the reading, "smallest opinion (censure) on my least misuse," "smallest" and "least" neutralize each other. It is fair to asume that something is wrong with the theory of interpretation that forces us to find such a confused meaning in the poet's lines.

I believe that the folio reading ("least misuse") is correct, but that the received explanation of the passage is wrong. If the last two lines are uttered in justification, the first line, since it asserts the opposite (" 'Tis meet I should be us'd so, very meet"), is thereby given a touch of irony, something which is surely far removed from its true spirit. Is not this speech, however, one of self-reproach from beginning to end? Desdemona is utterly cast down, and, in the depths of her despair, sees herself in the worst possible light. " 'Tis meet I should be used so, very meet. How have I been behaved (her conduct in deceiving her father), that he (Othello) might stick the smallest opinion (favorable judgment, degree of credit or

esteem) on my least misuse?" "How have I been behaved that even my least misconduct should merit any the smallest degree of indulgence on his part?" We have here the echo of Brabantio's parting thrust at Othello (I. iii. 293-4)—

> Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see:
> She has deceived her father, and may thee.

and the words, uttered in Desdemona's presence, now come home to her with the full force of condemnation—" 'Tis meet I should be used so, very meet." This is an utterance of despair, not of protest. With this explanation, a meaning is given to the speech very much in keeping with the character of the gentle Desdemona and her unhappy situation. It is the main part of my contention that the irony, the bitterness, which the usual explanation would import into the first line, is entirely at variance with Desdemona's disposition. By understanding "opinion" to mean 'favorable judgment, degree or credit or esteem' as I suggest (permissible under Elizabethan usage), instead of 'censure,' we avoid the clash between "smallest" and "least" in the last line of the folio reading. Taking it all in all, the passage has been strangely misunderstood, the utterance, as explained in the editions, being confused and out of character. E. M. D.

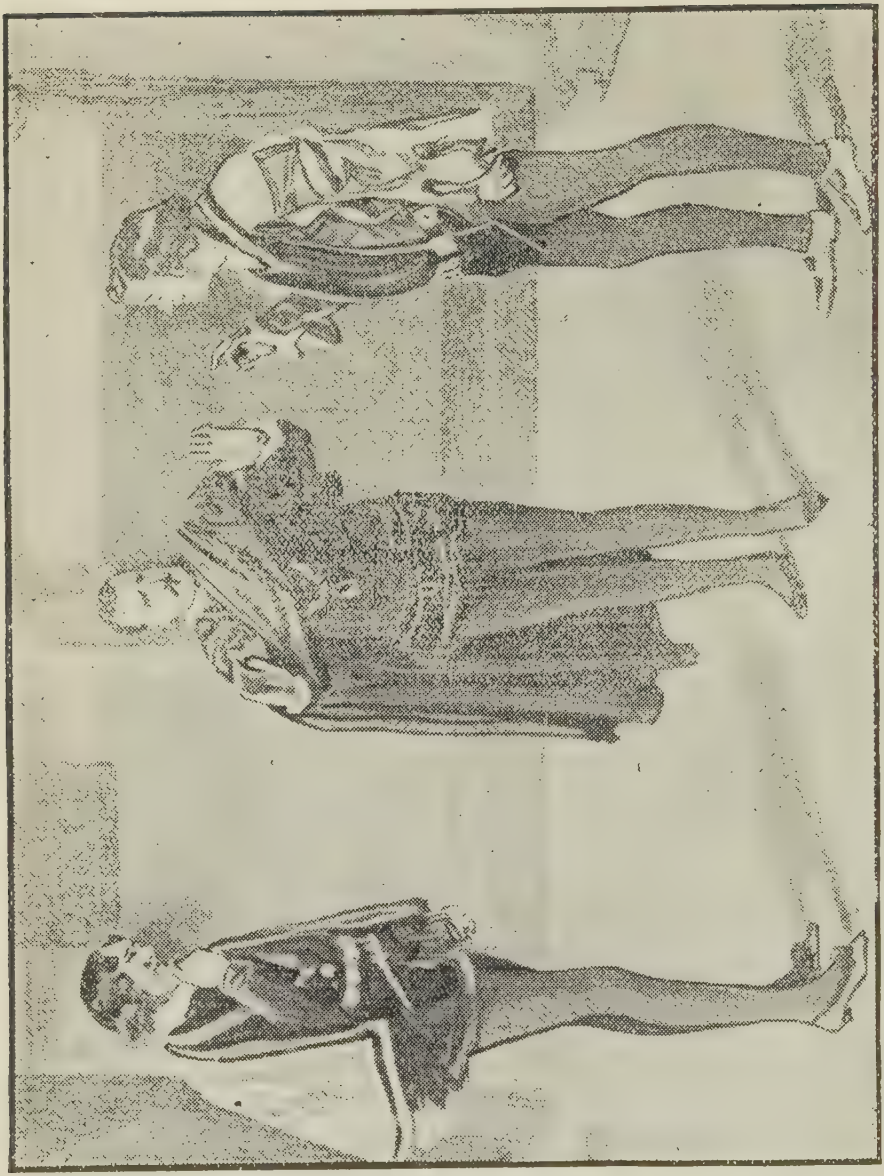
MARGINALIA

IT SEEMS THAT THOSE DELECTABLE GENTLEMEN, MESSRS. ROSENCRANTZ AND GUILDENSTERN were no mere Dramatis personae but actual persons alive and flourishing at the date at which Shakespeare placed his Hamlet story. On page 191 of SHAKESPEAREANA Volume VIII (—at that date under editorial conduct of The New York Shakespeare Society, there was quoted a communication from the late Dr. Leo, President of the German Shakespeare Gesellschaft announcing to that Society his discovery, in the Royal Library at Stuttgart, of a memoranda kept in the year 1577, by the Duke Frederich I of Wittenberg of the names of persons he met on his travels in the North in that year. One of the entries was this:

1577 In utraque fortuna ipsius fortuna esto memor Jorgen Rozencrantz
1577 Ferendum et sperandum P Guildenstern
Haufniae [Copenhagen] sthen Builde tull Wandass

Dr. Leo also records that a correspondent, Dr. Balti, writes him that the Guildensternes of Denmark became extinct in Denmark in 1729 until which date they had flourished there since the year 1300, and that he had seen a copy of a funeral sermon preached, prior to the year 1600, over the remains of "Rosencrantz and Guildensterne," two courtiers or attendants at the Danish throne. To this discovery of Dr. Leo's must now be added Mr. Percy Simpson's discovery of a volume entitled "Tychonis Brahe Daniepistolarvm Astronomicarvm libri Quorvm Primus his illvstris lavdatis Principis Gvlielmi Hassiae Landtgravii ac ipsius Mathematici Literas vnaq Responsa ad singulas complectiur. Noribergæ Apud Levinum Hulsium. Cum Cæsaris et Regvm Qvorvndam privilegiis. Anno M DCI.' On the verso of the title page of this book is a half-length portrait of Tycho Brahe, bordered by a panel containing the coats of Arms of sixteen noblemen with the names of the owner of the shields under each. Under the coats of one of these shield escutcheons is the name "ROSENKRANS," and under another of them the name "GVLDESTERE" omitting the N. This work bears the imprint, 1601 And in another volume "Astronomiae Instauratiae Mechanica, Noribergae apud Levinvm Hvlsivm 1602," also by Tycho Brahe, this same portrait is again used as a frontispiece. The juxtaposition of these two names, the dates of the two publications—the latter the year before the

date of the first quarto Hamlet, and the fact that the works of the great astronomer were of international interest and importance, may well justify us in including one or the other of these books in the list of those with which so omniverous a reader as Shakespeare might not improbably have been more or less familiar. The design was it seems re engraved for Peter Gassend's "Tychonis Brahei Vita (Paris 1654) and in this re engraving the spelling adopted is GVULDENSTEREN. In announcing this interesting discovery in "The Athenaeum" Mr. Simpson continues: "It appears that this Guildensterne was commissionede to procure some elks ("Elendsthier," "Alce cicurata," in the German and Latin texts) for the Landgrave of Hesse. Brahe writes to the Landgrave on September 26th, 1591, that he cannot procure any in Denmark, but "hab ich hinauff in Norwegen an Koniglicher Maiestat allda Stadhalter | den Edlen vnd Wolgebornen Axel Guldenstern | welcher mein gar nahe Verwandter vnd sehr guter Freund ist | fleissig geschrieben vnd angelangt| dass er mir auffs wenigst ein par derselbigen Thier | die da jung weren | mit erster gelegenheit herab shicken wolte | dan dero in seinem Lehn vnd Gebiete etliche verhanden seyndt" (p. 214). The animals were sent, but they died and the Landgrave wrote for more in 1592. Brahe replied on September 20th that he had just received letters "Consanguinei mei Nobilissimi viri AXILLI GVLDENSTERN Regij n Noruegia Vicarij," complaining of difficulties in executing the commission: Guildenstern had got the elks, but could not find a trustworthy captain to ship them over. Finally two were sent, procured, says Brahe (p. 306), by "meinem Blutsverwanter AXEL GVLDENSTERN." Rosencrantz is mentioned once in the letters, as associated with John Dee, the English astrologer. Christopher Rothmann, Court Astronomer to the Landgrave, writes to Brahe on August 22nd, 1589:—"Literas illas, quas ad Gellium Sasceridem schipseras, nuper tradidi Præceptori Nobiliss. ROSENCRANTZII,. ui me et ex te et ex Nobiliss. D. IOANNE. DEE., amico meo singulari, perquam humaniter salutabat" (p. 153.) Holger Rosencrantz was born on December 14th, 1574, and died on October 28th, 1642; he was connected by marriage with Brahe, and he prefixed a copy of laudatory Latin verse to the 'Mechanica' when it was first published in 1597. His correspondence with Brahe from 1596 to 1601 has been edited by F. R. Friis (Copenhagen, Truelsen, 1896). A brief life of him is given in Tycho de Hofman's 'Portraits Historiques des Hommes Illustres de Dannemark,' part iv. pp. 9-10 (Copenhagen, 1746), and the interesting statement is made that he accompanied the Danish ambassador Christin Friis de Borreby on his official visit to England to be present at the coronation of James I. It is perhaps worth adding that a "Magnus Gildenstern," came to England in the train of Christian IV. in 1606 (Nichols's 'Progresses of James I.,' i. 606). After the accession of James with the close ties then connecting the Courts of England and Denmark, any license in the use of contemporary Danish names would be inconceivable, especially when a member of a distinguished family had paid an official visit to this



A Danish conception of Rosencrantz and Guildensterne. (By courtesy of the New York Morning Telegraph.)

country. But under Elizabeth the relations were not so intimate, and personal names would be known vaguely: a literary source such as the 'Epistolæ,' the work of a distinguished Dane, would be precisely the one on which a playwright might be expected to draw. Moreover, the stage history of 'Hamlet' fits in with the date 1601 admirably, and even indicates a conceivable channel by which the names reached Shakespeare. The First Quarto of 'Hamlet' stated on the title-page that the play had been performed in "the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where." Mr. Fleay, commenting on this indication that the company had travelled, has pointed out that the only year in which they are known to have been absent from London is 1601, and that this must be the date of Shakespeare's work upon the quarto. The company visited Scotland in that year. Did Shakespeare go with them? Did they perform at the Court of King James? When James was in Denmark in 1590, he visited Tycho Brahe at Uranienburg; Brahe mentions his recognizing the likeness of Buchanan on a globe in the Museum ('Epistolæ Astronomicæ,' p. 238). James would be a likely person to receive a presentation copy, or at least to hear of the book and procure it for himself.

But, apart from all conjecture, it is very important to note that Mr. Simpson's discovery agrees with other evidence in determining a date for the original composition of Shakespeare's Hamlet.

If Antigonus had asked a modern Mariner the question he asks in The third scene of the first act of The Winter's Tale. "Thou are perfect then, our ship hath touched upon a seacoast of Bohemia?" the Mariner could still have replied "Ay my lord there is a sea coast of Bohemia hereabouts!" For when, in the year 1609 the Holy Emperor Roman Rudolph II granted the Majestats brief of Toleration to the Bohemian protestants that edict mentions Bohemia as a part of his jurisdiction over which it extended its force. And such indeed was the political boundary, so that, even while the central portions of Hungary were in possession of the Turk the Austrian House of Hapsburg controlled the territory from Brandenburg on the North to the Adriatic on the South, and from Alcase on the West to Upper Hungary on the East. The largest possession of the Hapsburgs was, however, "Bohemia" "the realm of St. Wenceslas" which included not only Bohemia proper, but Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia and Carniola, (Carniola having been captured from Ottokai, King of old Bohemia in the year 1270, and annexed to the possessions of the triumphant House of Hapsburg, which were called then as now Austria) An Empire's dependencies being of course ruled from that Empire's capital, it was as proper to say in the thirteenth century that a ship sailing to Acquelles or to Trieste was bourd for Bohemia as it is proper to say to day that a person going to Prussia proper is bound for Germany. Mention, therefore, of a Sea-coast to Bohemia need not be assigned either to the imagination of either

Greene or Shakespeare, still less to their error, For as a matter of fact, it occurs in a much earlier work, 'Florambel de Lucea,' as may be seen from the following piece of information extracted from it by Clemencin in his edition of 'Don Quijote' (Vol. III., p. 381): 1839 "After sundry acts of prowess they landed in a seaport of Bohemia called Esterlin." The association with Hungary on a following page proves that the real Bohemia was meant. Nunquam dormitat Bonus Shakespeare!

Among inculabula lately sold by Messrs. Southerby, Wilkinson and Hodge of London from the library of the late Sir Thomas Dawson Brodie of Idvies is a large 13x18 copy of the First Folio Shakespeare of 1623, from the Ellis Collection. Although incomplete in some of its pages, which have been supplied by facsimile leaves, it is a very desirable copy, as it contains the rare last leaf.

The same auctioneers sold on April 21st, 1904, a supposed Shakespeare signature. It is written along the outer margin of the fifth leaf of the table of contents of an imperfect copy of William Rastall's Collection of the Statutes now in force from Magna Charta to XXXV. Q. Elizabeth, London, 1598. The fly-leaf contains signatures of Thomas Bragge, presumably one of the Stratford Bragges of Shakespeare's time. The history of the volume, however, goes back only to an auction in 1852, and the experts did not on that occasion agree that the signature was genuine. There are at least two volumes with reputed Shakespeare signatures already in American collections, viz. the old copy of North's Plutarch in the Boston Public Library, which has an alleged signature on a bit of the paper used in its binding, and a volume of Savara, containing two signatures of "W. Shakespeare," for which £102 was paid at a London sale in 1898, and which now belongs to Marsden J. Perry, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island.

The Shakespeare Society of New York records with regret the death in London on the 22nd day of July, 1904, of its valued Life Member Wilson Barrett Esq., who became such life member of the Society during the year 1892. The Necrology of the Society since its incorporation in 1885 is, in chronological order as follows, and as will be seen, includes many lamented and eminent men whose places will be long unfilled, James Orchard Halliwell Phillipps; David Thomas Morgan; Clement Mansfield Ingleby; Karl Elze; Irving Browne; Samuel Timmins; Samuel Forehand; Carl Edelheim; Martin W. Cooke; Thomas W. Keene; Nelson Wheatcroft; Augustin Daly; William C. Elam; Dr. F. A. Leo; John Fiske; James Ewell Reynolds; Cushman K. Davis; Sheridan Paul Wait, and Thomas Randolph Price.

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Subject to second and extended review in subsequent issues.]

117 The Shakespeare Country Illustrated, With Maps and Appendices illustrating the Washington Country and the Franklin Country by John Leyland. London Published at the Office of Country Life and by George Newnes New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons: $1.25

118 The Bacon-Shakespeare Calendar for the year 1904: Containing a quotation from Bacon and from the Shakespeare Plays for every Day in the year: Prepared by Mrs. Henry Pott and Miss Pott. London: The Bacon Society

119 The Kings Shakespeare, Shakespeare's Sonnets with Notes and Introduction by C. C. Stopes Four x three inches sq pp 240 London: Alexander Moring. The De La More Press.

123 Beowulf and the Finnesburgh Fragment. Translated from the Old English, with an Introductory sketch and notes, by Clarence Griffen Child, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Pennsylvania, Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin & Co. cloth 16mo. pp. 92

124 Cartae Shakespeareanae: Shakespeare Documents. A Coronological Catalogue of Extant Evidence relating to the life and works of William Shakespeare by D H Lambert B A. Solicitor, Formerly Member of The New Shakespeare Society and Honorary Member of The New York Shakespeare Society, Cloth 16mo pp 108. illustrated, London; George Bell and Sons.

125 Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesell schaft. Band II. David Garrick als Shakespeare Darsteller, und seine bedentung fur die Heutige Schauspielknast. von Christian Gaehde. 8vo paper pp 200, Berlin, George Reimer 4.50 marks.

71 The Age of Shakespeare (1579-1631). By Thomas Seccomb and J. W. Allen. With an Introduction by Professor Hales. Cloth, 12mo; 2 v; pp. 292-232. London: George Bell and Sons.

87. An English Garner: Critical Essays and Literary Fragments. With

an Introduction by J. Churton Collins, 8 vo; cloth; pp. 344. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

88. An English Garner: Social English Illustrated. A collection of Seventeenth Century Tracts. With an Introduction by Andrew Lang. 8 vo; cloth; pp. 458. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

120 Shakespeares Sonnete Obersetzt von Max J. Wolff, Berlin: Behr

127 Unser Shakespeare Beitrage zu einer Wissenschaftlichen Shakespnare Kritic Als Shakespeare Sonnete und ihr Wert. von Theodore Eichoff. Halle; Max Neimeier

128 The Ethics of Criticism. Illustrated by Mr Churton Collins; by Robert M. Theobald, M. A. paper 12mo. pp 31 London: Watts and Co.

129 The Praise of Shakespeare, An English Anthology Compiled by C. E. Hughes with a Preface by S. Lee. Cloth 12mo pp 200, London: Methuen & Co.

130 William Shakespeare Prosody and Text. An Essay in Criticism being an introduction to a better editing and a more adequate Appreciation of the Works of the Elizabethan Poets. By A. P. Van Dam with the assistance of C. Stoffel. London: Williams and Norgate

117. This is the second edition of Mr. Leyland's book. The illustrations are profuse, and enough new ones are added to bring the total up to about two hundred, most of them full-page and none of them less than half-page ones. The addition of pictures of the neighbourhoods producing Washington and Franklin, of course add to the value of the work in American eyes. Ecton, five miles from Northampton, is the seat village of the Franklins; as is Sulgrave, twenty four miles southeast of Stratford on Avon, the seat of the Washingtons. It makes Americans feel like sharers in Shakespeare indeed, to find that the vicinages whence came such of our names that are household words, as Washington, Franklin and Harvard, surround his vicinities too!

118 If one desired to be confirmed in his conviction as to the absolute non-identity of the respective styles of Bacon and of Shakespeare, the very first coupon he pulled off this interesting calendar would rivet it Here is this First coupon to wit "January 1." Of a good beginning comes a good ending Bacon (Promus 950) "Things as yet not come to life Which in their seeds and weak beginnings lie entreasured Such things become the hatch and brood of Time (2 Hen IV iii 2) By some inadvertence, however, this pretty calendar mounted up a placque displaying the noble Van Sohmer painting of Lord Bacon, placed over against the Droeshout cariacuture, and engrossed with items as to the record of each, not at all complimentary to the Bard of Avon, is issued by the Bacon Society whose propaganda is to show, among other wondrous things, the identity of the style of the two great Elizabethans.

119. This is a dainty edition of the Sonnets, and the introduction is writ-

ten by Mrs. Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, which is tantamount to saying that it is worth reading, for Mrs Stopes is a Shakespearean Scholar who conducts her Shakespearean researches by the very un-English method of looking up matters for herself, and telling frankly what she finds, or, (as in this case) what she divines or surmises, or, under the circumstances, thinks may or may not have been the fact! (The ordinary English method being, of course, to rewrite what your immediate predecessor has said and to give everybody's name but his in your list of writers consulted, and then to take an early steamer to the United States, and give a course of lectures upon "Shakespeare" to those benighted regions!) Pursuing her plan with the Sonnets, Mrs Stopes will not hear of there being any room for speculation as to whom the Sonnets were addressed to (Southampton, of course!) "His life and character alone," she says, "provide all the essential desiderata," and works out her contention plausibly enough. Alluding to the "Dark Lady," Mrs. Stopes says: It seems evident that under the depressing influences of the plague year, during a long separation from his friend, the poet had himself been tempted by a vision of Venus, under the guise of a dark-eyed witch, a married woman, full of coquettish wiles. There is no clew to the identity of the lady. Most probably she was not a lady at all, in the court sense, but one of the rich citizens' wives, many of whom had been educated by wealthy fathers, up to the level of the culture of the time, in art and music, a woman who had been married just long enough to feel a sense of ennui creep into her leisured life, and a desire for new conquests steal into her vain soul. Such a one Shakespeare might have met in the very house he must have frequented. I do not know anything about the moral principles of Mrs. Jacqueline Field, and do not formulate a charge against her. But such a one fulfilled all the necessary external conditions. Further, she was a Frenchwoman, and therefore likely to have dark eyes, a sallow complexion, and that indefinable "charm" which is so much referred to. Such a woman might very well have ignored young Shakespeare when he first came to town and she was a bride; but when she found he was making his way among the aristocracy, might suddenly have become interested in him, and lay her toils. She tuned her sweetest music to his tastes, while she played remorselessly upon her hearer's heart. After the publication of "Venus and Adonis" she seems to have achieved her desire, met Shakespeare's patron, and entangled him for a short time in a game of bagatelle, in order to torture her victim's heart. While left out in the cold, a prey to horrible doubts and fears, Shakespeare learned to distinguish the false from the true in Spenserian contrast, threw off the yoke of the evil spirit, rose triumphant over jealously and passion, and, faithful to the love given to his friend, rose to the height of self-renunciation. Then the tragedy was over; there had been no treachery, no cruelty, the thought of rivalry had been but fantastic,' it was, a mistake, a comedy of errors." We beg to suggest that under the ruling in Rex v Topham (4 Term R. 129), the legal representa-

tives of Mrs. Jacqueline Field will now have a cause of action against Mrs Stopes for defamation of character by innuendo of a peace parted soul! But we hope the costs wont be more than Mrs Stopes will be able to pay, and we hasten to approve of her book as of genuine value; as readable and original from beginning to end, The Sonnets themselves are elaborately, lovingly and judiciously edited independently of any predecessor commentation whatsoever. The list of Mrs. Stopes's contributions to Shakespeareana is a very long one, and there is not an item in it that is not worth possessing and digesting. They are, one and all, (save perhaps her lecture on "Sir Thomas Lucy not the original of Justice Shallow," which was the mere Tour de force of a relaxing occasion), marked by the same conservatism and absence of use of the superlative which marked her "The Bacon Shakespeare Question answered" of fifteen years ago, (and which —its authorship being given as "By C Stopes"—was, we believe everywhere, reviewed as by "Mr Stopes" by reason of this very absence of the superlative) And surely the most valuable contribution to Shakespeare Iconography for the one hundred years since Malone's days was her recent paper in the Monthly Review (which as we expect to extend it for our readers in an early issue of this Quarterly we do not describe further at present) But it is hard to keep down a tear in guessing how the present London Shakespeare Sciolist must have contemplated the collapse thereat of all his windage, which Mrs Stopes's naively confesses that she accomplished by the extremely feminine device of consulting "the very first book I came to"!

126. 127. Tenterden Steeple was the cause of Goodwin Sands. The sight of a stranger gave a resident of St Kilda a cold in the head! A saddle under his bed meant that the sick man had swallowed a horse! Post hoc is always propter hoc! This is all this rubbishly book amounts to. And the second is like unto it, except that it suggests the division of the Sonnets into I. Immoral II. Absurd III. Trivial IV. Precious Jewels, with subdivisions; 1 Procreation, 2. Languishing, 3. Dark, 4. Triumphant, 5. Longing and Tenderness! This is as far as we have read. Nathless there are sub-divisions and auxiliary sub-sub-divisions ad. sat. We hurry to assign these two valuable German books to Dr Furnivall's Unfit-Nature or Under-Burden-Falling Group, and let them lie there! Which it is for our sins, we suppose, that gibberish—that, in any other field, would lay a writ of delunatico inquirendo—is solemnly printed and catalogued so as only the name "Shakespeare" is hitched thereon.

71 These volumes are indispensable to the student of Shakespeare who finds how constantly there will occur to him in the study of the text the question "Did any of Shakespeare's contemporaries write in these veins? Did any of them handle these themes or allude to this range of objects? What do we know biographically of Shakespeare's contemporaries? etc. To this class of students (and we fancy most real students of Shakespeare are of this sort) we fail to see how the plan of the Messrs Seccombe and Allen could possibly have been more helpful. There is in them the

condensed contents of several scores—we might say of several hundreds of works like Symonds' Shakespeare's Predesessors, and Dr Ward's and Mr. Collier's Histories of English Dramatic beginnings. These volumes omit nothing of referential value in the Romantic as well as the Dramatic English literature from the days of the Miracle plays down to and inclusive of Shakespeare, closing with the Jacoban (and we notice that our learned contemporaries spell it "Jacobean") period—are delightful to hold in the hand and to consult; are attractively bound and flexibly stitched (not barbarously wired) and each volume is made as much as possible into a vade mecum by a digested Table of Contents and a chronological scheme or Table and again by an index of all these Contents, in which each entry of the name of an old Play or literary piece has the date thereof attached in parentheses! As we said, it is hard to see how these volumes could be made more convenient or more indispensable!

87 The librarians of our five thousand seven hundred and forty one American Libraries who have regretted that Arber's English Garner was no longer to be procured, will thank the firm of Dutton and Company for reprinting in fine bookmanlike volumes, twelve in all, the entire contents of Mr Arber's skillful garnerings! And in connection with Messrs Seaccomb and Allen's work just above mentioned, will now be glad to place these twelve volumes on their consultation shelves. The original "An English Garner" was printed from 1877 to 1890 in eight small volumes and contained a vast amount of poetry and prose; some of which hardly any one would have imagined to be in existence at all. Of many of the pamphlets, now reprinted here, only one or two copies of the original impressions survive, and these, most difficult of access, so that it was not too much to say of the work that they had never before come within the ken of any single English-reading scholar. Many important facts or allusions as to the times, manners or customs of the respective periods of the greatest interest were then presented.

The plan of the present re-collection is apparently to sort to titles the then collected matter The first volume being "Social England Illustrated," by Andrew Lang, the second "Critical Essays and literary Fragments." The old spelling preserved by Professor Arber is modernized—certain lacunae have been filled by interpolation of freshly gathered matter of the same character. The introductions are wholly new, and the volumes are under the general editorship of Mr. Thomas Seacombe, one of the co-editors of "The Age of Shakespeare" just appreciated.

124 Most of this sort of work is "like the mending of highways in summer when ways are fair enough," and mere encumbering with help. But Mr Lambert has compiled a lawyer-like and helpful gradus through the documents, and we should not be surprised if it was demanded. Mr Wilder did the same thing, but fashioned it into a biography of Shakespeare (and those who missed placing Mr Wilder's book in their libraries, if only as a key to Dr Halliwell Phillipps's great "Outlines" deutilized their

Shakespeare libraries to just that extent: next to Halliwell Phillipp's. Wilder's was the most useful "life" of Shakespeare ever written) Mr Lambert (who is a London barrister, was a member of the defunct New Shakespeare Society and is an honorary member of The New York Shakespeare Society and so a most competent Shakespearean) has chronolized one hundred and sixty-one documents from the following deposita, viz. 1. The Stratford registers of births, marriages, and deaths, and the inscriptions on the family tombstones. 2. Contemporary notices of the poet, whether contained in poems, correspondence, or otherwise. 3. The minutes and accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. 4. Legal documents. This embraces a somewhat wide area, but is sufficiently definite, including exemplifications of Court records, Royal Warrants, Fines, Conveyances, &c. 5. The entries of his plays and poems in the registers of Stationers' Hall. 6. The poet's Will and the dedications prefixed to his poems during his life as contained in his works, and the quarto and other editions of his dramas up to the First Folio in 1623.

Thoughtful students will find a lot of interesting co-incidental dates in this chain of record: For example, in the year 1598 Loves Labor's Lost appears in London "Newly augumented by William Shakes-peare" and the Town Clerk at Stratford makes this entry: "Wm Shackspere X quarters," in the Town's "Return of Quantities of Corn and Malt." We highly commend this little book as meatier than many a bigger and more pompous volume.

128 "Here's a coil with protestations"! Mr. Churton Collins's Studies, etc (review above, page 115) was to prove Shakespeare was au courant with all the Greek and Latin Dramatists not in transliteration but in their original letter as well as spirit (much more familiar with them, it would seem, infra. than Mr Collins is with his own contemporary authorities) As such a thesis as this was supposed to carry the thesist perilously near the Baconian danger-point, Mr. Collins was careful to include a chapter on "The Bacon-Shakespeare Mania" which was quite as bitterly sarcasmous as the most altvaterlicht disbeliever in a time "when the thing that couldn't has occurred" could possibly require. In the course of this latter excursus, however, it seems that Mr Collins mixed—not his metaphors, but his authorities—and used this sentence: "The work to which Judge Webb owes most is not, so far as we can discover, mentioned by him. This is 'Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light,' by Robert M. Theobald." Now, Judge Webb's book was entitled "The Mystery of William Shakespeare: A summary of evidence" and was so exclusively a marshalling of facts and circumstances that allegedly pointed Shakespeareans Baconward, that a writer in the London "Literary World" of February 13th 1903 remarked that his Honor Judge Webb had done little or nothing more than re-write Appleton Morgan's "The Shakespearean Myth; William Shakespeare and Circumstantial Evidence," of which even the title was periphrasis (demonstrating that an Englishman sometimes may "read

an American book" when he happens o be of a mind to phlagarize it, at least) and among other things, the "Literary World" writer remarked: "Yet in Judge Webb's parade of his authorities Appleton Morgan's book is conspicuously omitted." For Mr Collins to declare, therefore, that Judge Webb owed most of his "Summary of Evidence" to Mr Theobald's work, which was a purely philological and textual collocation of the plays with the acknowledged Baconian writings, was a confusion of authorities and a thing to make the judicious grieve. The pamphlet here under review is a history of Dr Theobald's attempt to make Mr Collins explain or retract the vicious sentence. But retract Mr Collins would not. And, as to explaining, he was evidently of the Rochefoucauldian mind that "he who explains is damned," for he would not explain either, and finally after begging Dr Theobald to excuse him on the ground that the subject was "distasteful" to him (if distasteful why did he broach it?) winds up his end of the correspondence with "I see no reason to alter or modify a word I have written!" All of which leads Dr Theobald to ask "if this unspeakable lisence of misrepresentation is to be taken as presumptive evidence that the Orthodox Shakespearean people are conscious that their case is a bad one." That is an awful thing to say, too! and Dr Theobald should really be careful! But what else was he to infer? Absit from us to suggest that even a book-reviewer in due course of business should read a Baconian book! they that touch pitch will be defiled. But even a Mr Collins would have found it safer to have just glanced at their title-pages before proceeding to annihilate those books!

(129) This, too, is a useful book for those who are not fortunate enough to possess Dr Ingleby's Centuryie of Prayse as augmented by Miss Tolmyn Smith (and we cant quite understand why its compiler has not made fuller use of that augmentation. The last compilation in a field is always supposed to be exhaustive of all predecessors.) Why gentlemen who make these compilations at all, consider it necessary to their flotation to get somebody or other to write pompous "Introductions" which are really only what journalists call "making copy," is a mystery perhaps. Except as padding to justify a larger selling price there is no use in it But a little thicker paper would do that trick without worrying the reader at all!

*** The Editors cannot undertake to return unused manuscript, though they will endeavor to do so if self-directed, stamped envelope is enclosed therewith.

All manuscript submitted must be type-written. Quotations from the Plays or Poems of more than three lines should be indicated or run into the text, as our exceedingly limited space forbids printing them at length. References should always be to Act, Scene and Line.

Address all matters intended for The Editors, Books for Review, etc., NEW SHAKESPEAREANA, P. O. Box 617, WESTFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO
3 8198 323 615 540